

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USNMR SHAPE

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EXDIS MILITARY ADDEE HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

USNMR SHAPE FOR POLAD

FOLLOWING REPEAT MADRID 775 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO USNATO,
ANKARA, ATHENS, BONN, BRUSSELS, COPENHAGEN, LISBON, LONDON,
LUXEMBOURG, OSLO, OTTAWA, PARIS, REYKJAVIK, ROME, THE HAGUE,
MOSCOW, RABAT 23 JAN 78

QUOTE S E C R E T MADRID 00775

EXDIS

FOR EUR/WE AND EUR/RPM

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS SECDEF, USNMR SHAPE, USCINCEUR,
USDOCOSOUTH, USDELMC

EXDIS

MILITARY TREAT AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: NATO, SP, US

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 024565

SUBJECT: SPANISH ENTRY INTO NATO

REF: (A) STATE 004756 (071859Z JAN 78)

(B) USNATO 00417 (141239Z JAN 78)

1. SUMMARY. WE ARE IN FULL ACCORD WITH THE THRUST OF REFS
A AND B WITH RESPECT TO THE CONTINUING VALIDITY OF OUR

POSTURE ON THE SPAIN/NATO ISSUE AND THE GENERAL APPROACH FOR THE HIGH-LEVEL SEMINAR TO BE HELD IN FEBRUARY. WE OFFER HEREIN SEVERAL ADDITIONAL COMMENTS AND A HYPOTHETICAL DRAFT AGENDA FOR THE HIGH-LEVEL SEMINAR WHICH, IF ACCEPTABLE IN WASHINGTON, COULD SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR A PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION WITH SPANISH OFFICIALS HERE. END SUMMARY.

2. THE U.S. POSTURE ON THE SPAIN/NATO ISSUE REMAINS SOUND. THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO INDICATION THAT THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT IS PREPARED TO TAKE ANY MEASURES WHICH WOULD ELICIT EARLY PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE IN SPAIN ON THIS ISSUE. (BY SEPTEL WE ARE REPORTING RECENT STATEMENTS BY FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA TO THE PARLIAMENT ON THIS SUBJECT.)

3. THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO PREFER FOR THE MOMENT THAT THE DIALOGUE ON POSSIBLE SPANISH ENTRY INTO NATO REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL AND PRINCIPALLY ONE BETWEEN THE SPANISH AND U.S. GOVERNMENTS, SINCE THIS DIALOGUE DOES NOT CREATE THE SENSATION IN POLITICAL CIRCLES IN SPAIN THAT A NEW DEPARTURE IS BEING UNDERTAKEN. WE DO NOT BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO SUGGEST OTHER THAN U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THIS FIRST ROUND, BUT WE SHOULD SEEK GREATER ALLIED INVOLVEMENT SOON. THIS DIALOGUE HAS ALREADY BEEN USEFUL TO THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT, AND TO OUR INTERESTS. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF INSTANCES IN WHICH THE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 024565

INFORMATION WE HAVE PROVIDED HAS CLEARLY SERVED AS THE BASIS FOR A MORE INFORMED AND EFFECTIVE LINE BEING TAKEN BY SPANISH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, AND IN SOME CASES BY THE SPANISH PRESS AS WELL.

4. WE AGREE THAT THE SEMINAR SHOULD BE CONSTRUCTED SO AS TO ELICIT ACTIVE SPANISH PARTICIPATION, BUT ONE SHOULD NOT ENTERTAIN EXAGGERATED EXPECTATIONS. SPANISH OFFICIALS WILL REGARD THEIR ROLE LARGELY AS THAT OF LISTENERS AND POSERS OF THE DIFFICULT QUESTIONS. IN OUR VIEW NOT A GREAT DEAL IS TO BE GAINED BY PRESSING TOO HARD FOR SPANISH VIEWS SINCE IN MANY CASES THOSE VIEWS SO NOT YET REALLY EXIST. BEFORE THEY DO, WE MUST BE PREPARED TO BEGIN TO ADDRESS SOME OF THE HARDER QUESTIONS. THIS IS REALLY THE POINT OF THIS HIGH-LEVEL SEMINAR.

5. WE WOULD RECOMMEND ASSUMING KNOWLEDGE OF THE CONTENTS OF THE NATO HANDBOOK (WHICH WE WILL BE SURE ALL THE SPANISH PARTICIPANTS HAVE IN THEIR POSSESSION), AND GOING ON FROM THERE. WE FULLY RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULTIES IN PRETENDING TO SPEAK FOR THE ALLIES OR ABOUT THE ALLIES' SPECIFIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO NATO. HOWEVER, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE

U.S. PARTICIPANTS BE ABLE TO GIVE A SUFFICIENT VIEW OF WHAT SPAIN'S NATO NEIGHBORS AND OTHER NATO MEMBERS IN ROUGHLY SIMILAR ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES ARE CONTRIBUTING AND GAINING FROM MEMBERSHIP SO THAT THE SPANISH CAN DRAW THE CORRECT CONCLUSIONS AS TO THEIR OWN POSSIBILITIES.

6. WE AGREE WITH U.S. NATO'S VIEW THAT WE SHOULD BEGIN AT THIS MEETING TO ADDRESS ON A HYPOTHETICAL BASIS POSSIBLE SPANISH MILITARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ALLIANCE. IN THIS RESPECT, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT IT BE UNDERSTOOD BY U.S. PARTICIPANTS THAT ANY SUGGESTION NOW OF EARLY STATIONING OF SPANISH FORCES OUTSIDE OF SPAIN MIGHT PROVE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE HERE. WE RECOMMEND THAT THIS PORTION OF THE U.S. BRIEF FOR THE SEMINAR BE PLACED ON THE AGENDA FOR THE SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 024565

PRIOR CONSULTATIONS IN WASHINGTON AT THE END OF THIS MONTH.

7. WE AGREE WITH U.S. NATO THAT TWO DAYS WILL PROBABLY BE NECESSARY AND WOULD APPRECIATE AUTHORIZATION TO PROPOSE THIS TO THE SPANISH. WE MIGHT LOOK AT A THURSDAY AND FRIDAY, ALLOWING AN OPPORTUNITY FOR SPILL-OVER ON SATURDAY AND DEPARTURE BY U.S. PARTICIPANTS EITHER AT MID-DAY ON SATURDAY OR SUNDAY.

8. ALL OF THIS SAID, OUR FIRST CUT ET L POSSIBLE AGENDA FOR THE MEETING READS:

A. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS (THIS WOULD PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR CONFIRMATION OF THE GROUND RULES FOR THE SEMINAR.)

B. THE THREAT TO EUROPE, INCLUDING THE IBERIAN PENINSULA.

- THE COMPONENTS OF A NET ASSESSMENT.
- THE ROLE OF THE CMCPs IN ANALYZING THE THREAT.
- THE EXTENT OF NATO'S FOCUS ON THE IBERIAN PENINSULA.
- THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE THREAT TO IBERIA IS A FUNCTION OF THE PRESENCE OF FOREIGN MILITARY FACILITIES.
- THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE THREAT FOR NATO MILITARY STRATEGY.

C. THE NATO POLITICAL PROCESS.

- THE ADVANTAGES OF THE CONSULTATION AND DECISION-MAKING MACHINERY.
- THE ALLIED INFLUENCE ON NUCLEAR PLANNING.
- THE RELATION OF NATO CONSULTATIONS TO THOSE OF THE EC-9.
- THE LIKELY IMPACT OF ALLIANCE ENLARGEMENT ON EAST/WEST SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 024565

RELATIONS (MBFR, CSCE, POLITICAL EVOLUTION IN YUGOSLAVIA).

- NATO AND THE MIDDLE EAST.
- NATO AND GIBRALTAR.

D. MILITARY QUESTIONS.

- NATO'S MILITARY CAPABILITIES ON THE CENTRAL FRONT AND ON THE FLANKS.
- THE MILITARY ROLES OF NATO'S MEMBERS AND HOW THEY HAVE BEEN ARRIVED AT.
- SPECIFIC NATIONAL FORCE COMMITMENTS AND DEPLOYMENTS OF THE MEMBER STATES, AND HYPOTHETICAL SPANISH MILITARY CONTRIBUTIONS.
- NATIONAL PARTICIPATION AT THE VARIOUS LEVELS OF MILITARY COMMAND.
- THE COSTS AND BENEFITS TO NATO MEMBERS OF THE INFRA-STRUCTURE SYSTEM.
- THE VIABILITY OF BILATERAL DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS AMONG NATO MEMBERS; IMPLICATIONS FOR THE U.S.-SPANISH TREATY. (TO THE EXTENT THAT IT CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED WITHOUT VIOLATING ALLIED CONFIDENCES, WE WOULD ADVOCATE A CASE STUDY APPROACH TO SOME OF THESE QUESTIONS. WITH RESPECT TO HYPOTHETICAL SPANISH MILITARY ROLES, THE TRICK WILL BE TO AVOID ASKING TOO MUCH -- SEE COMMENT IN PARA 6 -- WHILE AVOIDING ANY IMPRESSION THAT THE PRINCIPAL VALUE OF SPAIN'S PARTICIPATION WOULD BE THE PROVISION OF TERRITORY FOR USE BY OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE.)

E. FORMING PUBLIC OPINION IN SPAIN AND IN ALLIANCE COUNTRIES.

- POSSIBLE ROLES FOR THE NAA AND ATA.
- THE NATURE OF THE EVENTUAL SPANISH DEBATE. (SPANISH PARTICIPANTS MIGHT BE ASKED TO TAKE THE LEAD IN THE DISCUSSION OF THIS AGENDA ITEM .)

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 024565

F. NEXT STEPS.

- A FURTHER SEMINAR?
- HOW TO PROCEED TO A MORE ACTIVE DIALOGUE WITH NATO ITSELF.
- POSSIBLE SCENARIOS LEADING TO A NATO "INVITATION."
- THE REQUIREMENT FOR FULL MEMBERSHIP (IS SIGNING THE

TREATY ENOUGH?). STABLER

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